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some of the community entirely from this pursuit, and even those who are not lamas feel a certain disclination to killing animals. The settled houses and the greater amount of ground under cultivation and increasing domestic herds make the necessity for wild animals less urgent, and the growing commitments of agricultural life give less time for hunting. Indeed nowadays if a young man wants to go hunting (and some of the more adventurous ones do) he usually has to sneak away when his elders are not looking, and is liable to get a good scolding when he does return for withdrawing his labour from the fields; of course if the father is a hunter the son would be encouraged, but in Lingthem the only consistent hunter was Ashyok *youmi*, the most conservative man of the village who still wore the Lepcha dress and the little straw hat with a feather in it, which was once the typical Lepcha headgear, and now practically only survives as an archaic and picturesque article of dress among the servants of the Maharajah. Moreover the presence in the neighbourhood of shops where grain can be bought considerably mitigates the stress of the hungry season just before the harvest, when formerly people used to be driven into the forest for food.

When a youth, usually about the age of fifteen, wants to start hunting, it is necessary for him to acquire a bow and arrows and also to learn the requisite ritual. In most cases he cannot get either the weapons or the instruction from his father, who would be angry at the boy withdrawing his labour from the fields; the weapons he will most probably get from an elder brother or uncle or a friend, the instruction from some learned old man, probably quite unrelated. The first few times he will go on a hunting-party without weapons, but from the moment he has been on one even though he has not killed he must make the requisite sacrifices. No ceremony is connected with his first kill but he himself must not eat a piece of this kill, nor of the first hundred animals he kills with his bow (animals killed with a gun do not count; they can always be eaten). Were he to eat the first hundred animals he would develop sores and leprosy; but after he has killed this number a hollow will develop in his shoulder blade and after that he can eat with safety. The earlier animals he takes home to his family who eat them, giving him some domestic food instead. The commonest game animals are various sorts of deer; when bears are trapped their flesh is eaten, but they are seldom caught nowadays; one reason is that sexual abstinence for three months after setting a trap is imposed on bear hunters (there is no similar abstinence for the hunting of any other animal); if this rule is not observed the bears will escape from the trap unharmed.

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member of the household go near a big stream nor pour water on the ashes in the house. Tafoor also must refrain from sexual activity, for at the time of the orgasm the gods would look down and be angry.[11] Control of rain can be as localised as is wished; it can extend over a single field or the whole of Zongu, and can be held off as long as the officiant prays. I suggested to Tafoor that he could ruin an enemy by concentrating all the time and preventing any rain falling on the enemy's fields; he agreed that this was so, but the idea seemed to him so ridiculous that he burst out laughing, although he treats this power of his otherwise very seriously and does not jest about it. The control of hail does not require the same precautions but necessitates the presence of some magical objects including a ram's horn.

There is no question but that not only Tafoor but all the people of the neighbourhood believe completely in this power of stopping rain; people from some way away will come with big presents to get Tafoor to stop rain when they want to work their fields and will work for him also as recompense. I unfortunately only found out about this claim to power of Tafoor's in the last month of my stay in Lingthem. Lingthem is very rainy and there were very few days in which no rain fell. In the last month of my stay there were six occasions when Tafoor announced beforehand that he was stopping rain and on those days no rain did in fact fall. The most extraordinary were the three days of the Boom koor ceremony whose date was fixed after some argument about a fortnight before it took place; when the date was finally decided upon Tafoor said immediately that no rain would fall during those three days, and in point of fact those were the only three days during my whole stay in Lingthem during which no rain fell. There were two other fine days during this period without rain for which I asked Tafoor if he was responsible; he said that on those days he had done nothing. In the event of rain falling while he was meant to be stopping it he has the alibi that some more powerful lama has been sending the rain away from his village to Lingthem or the neighbourhood, for the power consists only in shifting the rain and not in destroying it.

It would naturally need far longer observation than I was able to make to pronounce any judgement on this claimed power. It is worth noting that there is no sort of compulsion for the Lepchas to hire Tafoor; many people do not, because they say they cannot afford to, but everybody I questioned was certain that this

[11] Semen is called *tik-oong*—penis water.

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831 522 the impression that they had been caught out in a breach of formal manners to which sensible people did not pay any attention.

834 522 Young unmarried girls did not on the whole join in these jokes, though they might laugh at them; boys started making them at about the age of fourteen. Girls and young women were very careful about exposing their bodies and often a great deal of fuss went on if a father or husband brought up a girl to have sores on her leg dressed; I think some of the women did feel genuinely distressed at having a stranger touch their legs before witnesses. Grown men were also fairly modest before me, but the younger men and boys were not; if they had torn pants or no pants, and thereby exposed themselves, this was a cause for laughter rather than confusion. On occasion, especially when we first arrived, women would reproach young children for showing their nakedness; this was always done very quietly and in a calm voice without emotion; the warning was often observed for quite two minutes after the woman had spoken. Excessive modesty of speech or action is a great part of the pattern of respectful behaviour, and is enjoined towards parents-in-law and social superiors; except in these situations it is considered a juvenile trait which people grow out of; it is usually given as the chief reason for the difficulty of establishing the marriage of young people on a firm basis. It is a legitimate subject for teasing; and one of the permanent jokes of the younger men was to push the more modest women into my arms, or to tell them that if they wanted really good medicine they should come and visit me late in the evening. A few of the girls seemed really distressed at this behaviour and all attempted to appear bashful; but with many the pretence was not successful.

iv

191 537 Speech has very great importance for the Lepchas. Indeed, apart from such knowledge as is necessary for the priests of the different religions, it may be said to represent their art, their science, and their intellectual entertainment. To be able to speak well is after being able to work well the highest social commendation. A good speaker is always in demand, and is essential on formal occasions, such as the entertainment of a stranger, or as *bek-bu* in marriage transactions.

195 537 There are two kinds of excellency in speech; first there is the person with an elegant vocabulary, and second the person with a

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Everest, which has been several times visited on the way to the mountain. The nuns were indescribably dirty, and their faces caked with soot. They were dressed in maroon, in robes similar to those worn by Lamas. Their heads were completely shaved; but to protect them against the cold, which was severe at nearly all times of the year, they wore huge yak's-hair wigs, shaped like the hats worn by Chinese mandarins, which gave them an almost grotesque appearance. The first time we visited the place, in 1922, the nuns turned out in force to inspect us, but they were far too shy to converse, even through our Tibetan interpreter, and contented themselves with a giggle. Most, if not all, of them were, so far as I remember, completely illiterate.

"Nuns are admitted to a few monasteries in Sikkim," notes Waddell, "but their number is extremely small, and individually they are illiterate." I doubt whether the Inebus of Lingtem could properly be classed as nuns at all. Most of them have had no real training and not one of them can read or write. They do not perform ceremonies for private individuals; nor are they given a place inside the main hall at monastic services, being regarded as scarcely different from ordinary women. Their devotions are confined almost entirely to the turning of prayer-wheels and drums, circumambulation of the monastery building, and telling their beads. The small Hla-gong, which houses the three big prayer-drums, is really their private chapel, and to this they have access at all times. They usually came to the monastery thrice each month, spent a few hours turning the drums, while they sang in unison, and then went away again. Whenever their visit coincided with some ceremony performed by the men we noticed that the attendance was markedly greater.

Most Inebus wear a rosary round their necks or carry it twined around the wrist. There is no other mark by which they may be recognised. I told one old woman that in Tibet I had noticed that nuns were always shaven, and asked her why the same custom was not adopted here, since the Lamas

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conformed to the Tibetan rule. But she only laughed, and would not tell me the reason. When I got to know her well she told me: "Once a woman's head is shaved," she said, "it is no longer permissible to sleep with a man."

Lepcha women usually wear their hair in a divided plait, which they coil in a circle round the head. It is a mark of respect to wear the hair down loose, and for this reason the plaits are uncoiled when Inebus come to the monastery. The same rule applies to men, who will likewise undo their queues as a mark of great respect. I seldom saw anyone do this at the monastery, but was told that a man would wear his hair loose in the presence of the Maharaja, for instance, if he wished to show the utmost respect.

The wife of a Lama does not necessarily become an Inebu. It is entirely a matter of personal desire: nor is it necessary to start as a child. Many women do not make the decision until well after marriage. It is said that a certain amount of instruction is given; but in view of their duties, which could well be performed by a blind deaf-mute, I do not think this can amount to much. They do, of course, commit a few prayers to memory, and it is said that their training takes from ten to fifteen years. Since they are still illiterate at the end of it, this I can well believe. Datoop's wife, who is easily the most intelligent of the local Inebus, told me that the selected teacher will usually be a Lama, but may, if desired, be some other woman. The pupil visits her teacher generally twice a day and works in the fields in between. If the teacher lives far away she will go only once a day, or even once a week, in which case the teacher will give her homework to prepare. It is not quite clear, nor was my informant able to explain, how this was done by a person who could neither read nor write. Sometimes a Lama will teach his own wife, and such Lingtem Inebus as are the wives of Lamas have all been instructed by their own husbands. Inebus have the same ranks as Lamas, but their duties do not vary, nor does there appear to be any arrangement or ceremony by which a woman may be advanced in rank.

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When she has spent some years in any one rank she seems to take unto herself the next. Even the so-called Inebu Dorje-Lopön appears to have no authority over the others and, like them, her devotions are confined to the turning of wheels.

Inebus come to the monastery three times every month: on the eighth, fifteenth, and thirty-first (the day of full moon), according to the Tibetan calendar, which is in general use in this part of the world. On the nights preceding these three days the Inebu may not sleep with her husband, nor is she permitted to eat any meat. Of the ten Inebu in Lingtem six claim to be able to read; but in actual practice this does not amount to more than the ability to recognise the characters of the phrase *Om mani padme hum* when they are seen on a flag or cut in stone. The letters forming this sentence are so familiar that even quite small children are able to recognise them: the situation is almost exactly the same as the European child who soon learns to identify the cat in its first picture-book. This, however, is very far from the ability to read; but it is the stage beyond which most Inebu seem never to progress.

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and has not yet reached the age of puberty. In spite of this, however, he[1] is well aware of the facts of life, and a few years ago was seduced by his uncle's wife, a woman of thirty, with whom he is still on intimate terms.

Tafoor's second child is a girl, and although three years younger than Chimpet she looks much older. She already nurses the two younger children, and knows how to cook, and is perfectly capable, so her father tells me, of running the house. No arrangements have so far been made for her marriage, but Tafoor hopes to hear of a suitable partner during the course of the next few years.

* * * * *

Chodo is Tafoor's younger brother, and so far has only reached the rank of *Ka-Ne*. He was thirty this year and his wife, whom he married some ten years ago, is the same age. He told me that when he was about five or six he used to play at making little houses out of sticks and leaves; also he was fond of playing with swings, but his parents would not let him do this in summer-time because, so they said, the demons would mistake him for fruit.* As a child he was frightened of devils and did not like walking about alone at night; and even now he does not like going by himself in the forest after dark. When he is alone and feels frightened he prays all the time to Guru Rimpoche to keep him safe. He never carries a charm "like ignorant people," because if he did this Guru Rimpoche would think he had no faith in his prayers and would therefore do nothing to help him. He knows that his wife has relations with Chimpet but does not mind in the least: "unless one learns, how can one ever be proficient?" He did the same thing himself as a boy; and even now frequently goes to the forest with Tafoor's wife, with whom he is of course legally entitled to cohabit. As a child he was sent to school at Mangen but only read the first three books. After this he spent a year in the Maharaja's palace in

* Fruit, as it swings in the breeze, is thought to be plucked by passing devils. Cf. *The Golden Bough*.

[1] [i.e., Chimpet, the son of Tafoor, an Umzet. – Analyst]

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224 which is filled with pointed stakes. A bear-hunter must [834] refrain from all sexual intercourse for three months from the day the trap is placed in position, otherwise any bears caught in the pit would escape; but apart from this there is no correlation between hunting and sex, such as is common in many parts of the world. In this particular case the con- [832] nection may possibly be due to the fact that bears' gall- [757] bladders are believed to have some aphrodisiac quality; but they are also said to be useful in curing pains at childbirth, [844] and, mixed with hot water, as an antidote for malaria. They are also much used for curing the peculiar itching of the feet, which is said to be due to walking over excreta in the fields [435] during hot weather. They can be sold in Gangtok for about five rupees each. The flesh, however, is eaten and considered to be rather a delicacy; but for some reason or other most "civilised" people consider it to be unfit for human consumption. I do not know why, for the bear is an exceptionally clean eater and lives mostly on roots and other vegetable matter. I have on occasion tasted the meat myself; it is undoubtedly somewhat full-flavoured and rather tough, and tastes a little like steak that is past its prime; but apart from these minor disadvantages it is perfectly palatable, and no more offensive than beef or pork.

773 One day a man was wandering on the hillsides when he saw what he took to be the dead body of a bear. It was in reality a god; but the actual spirit had for the moment left the bear's body and was standing at a little distance looking on. The man cut up the carcass and ate a portion, when the god itself appeared. "You have eaten my body," it said; "and in return you must worship and serve me henceforth. From this day, however, I give you permission to eat all kinds of animal flesh, even unto the bodies of snakes." This [184] was how the Salong clan of the Lepcha tribe took to eating snakes; but they gave up the habit several generations ago, and it is said that there are now no snake-eaters in Jongu.

224 Once a man takes to hunting he must continue to make

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intolerable, and in the course of countless generations they have so conditioned their feelings that this particular emotion never arises: or if it really is an inherent instinct, then they have sublimated it to such an extent that it causes no psychological disturbance.

Although the question of sexual jealousy hardly arises, it would be absurd to suppose that any man, even a Lepcha, is completely indifferent to his wife's promiscuity. For this reason, in Chodu's words: "It is better to copulate with one's sister-in-law out in the forest, because there is no privacy in the home. Out in the forest it is possible to be more passionate, whereas in the presence of others a certain amount of restraint must be exercised." An elder brother will be angry if he actually sees his younger brother copulating with his wife, and will say some such thing as: "Look here, you should not do that sort of thing with my wife while I'm about, and certainly not in my presence"; but apart from this he will take no action.

It is said that when a man habitually sleeps with his elder brother's wife the latter is liable to suffer from stomach-ache and diarrhœa, especially towards the end of each Tibetan month. When a man has pains of this sort he will naturally suspect his wife, but there is really little that he can do. He may suggest to his wife that she breaks off relations with his brother, or can ask her to obtain a piece of his clothing. If he wears this himself, in the form of a charm, it will be found that the pair will cease to be interested in one another and in course of time will give up sleeping together. It should be clearly noted, however, that the object of this is to cure the elder brother's stomach-ache and not to stop the woman having sexual relations with her husband's brother, to which no objection is taken.

It is an understood thing that most normal men do have relations with their elder brothers' wives from time to time, and while the subject is not generally discussed among brothers no one would make any attempt to deny the fact if asked; not because there is any question of jealousy arising,

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832 which I have been unable to identify, is said to have a somewhat stimulating effect, and chameleon flesh serves the same purpose. These creatures normally live in trees, but are in the habit of drinking out of wells. If a man drinks water into which they have urinated he is liable to suffer from priapism, and a woman may become a nymphomaniac; but if the actual flesh of the animal is eaten this has a much stronger effect. The flesh of the male animal creates desire; that of the female takes it away. Chameleons are not found in Jongu, but Tafoor says he has seen them exposed for sale in Gangtok. He first heard about their use from old people who had been down to the plains and fought in the Bhutan war: they are not much used in Jongu.

834 It is usual for a man to have no sexual intercourse with his wife during the menstrual period; not, however, for reasons of hygiene, but because it is thought that he may become senseless for a week or so. It is said, though, that women [842] become very amorous at this time, as a result of which intercourse indulged in immediately after the cessation of the menses usually results in conception. This idea is also very common among the Nepalese, who, however, unlike the Lepchas, believe that conception cannot take place at any other time.

843 It is not considered that child-bearing has any particular effect upon a woman: it does not age her in any way, nor does it impair her strength or looks. On the other hand it is not thought harmful if a woman never has a child. During the months of pregnancy the father is liable to get a little thin, and both parents may suffer from a state known as *thum doat*, which appears to be a state of loss of appetite. Both these states, however, are merely due to anxiety and not to any supernatural or other influence.

According to Lepcha ideas the first part of the fœtus to be formed is the head: this takes about one month, and is followed by the remaining parts downward, the feet appearing last of all. The baby is thought to be completely formed after five months, when it also acquires a separate soul of its

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commander of all the guardians of the faith, and overlord of all spirits, is invoked by the Lamas to command Dzo-nga to guard the Buddhist religion and the State of Sikkim, and to bring peace, prosperity and security to the people.

All Lama dances are to some extent regarded as physical exercises to counteract the sedentary life of the monks; but the Sikkim war dance is not performed exclusively by Lamas, but also by youths of the upper classes, mostly the sons of the various State officials. It is not so much a dance as a display of agility, discipline, and energy, in which considerable powers of endurance are required. It aims at combining physical training with a feeling of religious zeal and exaltation; and for this reason all the dancers are required to remain celibate during the month or so in which they train and prepare for the ceremony. They are also expected not to drink during this period of preparation; but during the actual performance, which lasts for some six hours or so, they are kept going by frequent draughts of alcohol. The ceremony is rendered impressive and dignified by the religious rite which is being carried on inside the monastery during the whole time the dance is being performed outside.

In spite of the fact that the war dance always takes place during the height of the monsoon, the selected day is nearly always fine, a special Lama being employed to keep the rain away. On the day previous to the ceremony he makes a large figure of a toad out of dough, buries it deep in the ground and lights a fire above it. He meditates inside the monastery but returns to the spot where he has buried the image in order to utter spells from time to time. Several years ago, so the Maharaja told me, it rained throughout the day of the dance; but when the performance was over it was discovered that the Lama had buried the image of a tortoise, apparently as an experiment to see what would happen. Except for a heavy shower while we were at luncheon to-day it was fine and sunny; but heavy rain came on in the evening and continued for several days almost without stopping.

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439 Until about twenty years ago most of the Jongu people
426 used to take forest dyes to Lachen, in North Sikkim, which they exchanged for Tibetan salt and wool. They kept a certain amount of this salt for their own use, but the bulk of it they took into Darjeeling, where they exchanged it for raw cotton, which their women spun into cloth. But gradually the money-lender, who all over India is also a general-trader, wormed his way into Sikkim; and found the Lepchas easy prey. One rather unexpected result of this is that the Jongu people no longer wander far from home; and although most of the older people have been often as far afield as Darjeeling and Kalimpong, very few of the younger generation have been further than Gangtok, and only then for a very occasional jaunt.

439 In the days before the money-lenders arrived most of the
608 Jongu people had a number of *Ingzong*, or blood-brothers, in various parts of the country in order to facilitate their trading relations. A few of the people still have *Ingzong* in Lachen, but the system seems to be gradually lapsing except as a means of cementing a close friendship. Thus, a number of Lingtem men have become *Ingzong* with fellow-villagers; but in these cases the relationship has no economic basis.
476 In times of trouble an *Ingzong* will help one, and even work one's fields, if necessary. Karma says that one can always be sure of a good meal at the house of an *Ingzong;* but apart from this, it is useful to have a friend whom one can regard almost as a relation. He says there is no ceremony in acquiring an *Ingzong;* but the two men will usually drink out of the same bowl and exchange ceremonial scarves. If one wishes, one can cease the relationship: this is not done formally, but merely allowed to lapse gradually and naturally. There are apparently no sexual privileges with the
● 834 womenfolk of an *Ingzong*, nor, on the other hand, any particular taboos; but owing to the fact that sexual relations among the Lepchas are, in any case, so free, my information on this point is somewhat conflicting. The *Ingzong* relationship is carried out only by men.

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early arrival of the monsoon drove us defeated from the slopes of Everest.

During the period in which it is wished to keep the rain away the Lama must have no connection with his wife; nor should he touch water, but must confine himself to *chi* or tea. There is no harm in looking upon water, but one should on no account wash in it. The area in which rain can be kept away is the whole extent of country visible from the place where the ceremony is being performed. Thus, although Talung is not visible from Lingtem, Tafoor can keep the rain away from that place because the hills above it are visible.

When Tafoor was learning his period of instruction was terminated by a ten-day fast in a completely dark room, into which he was sealed by his teacher. He felt very hungry for the first two days, but after this he had no particular desire for food. He was not even allowed to leave the room for the purposes of nature and remained sitting in the so-called "Lotus position" for the whole ten days, telling his beads and meditating. As soon as the fast was over he came straight out into the living-room and no arrangement was made to accustom his eyes gradually to the light. He was given a little weak tea and some thin gruel, but even this gave him intense pains in the stomach. On the second day he had a small amount of normal food, after which he resumed his ordinary diet.

In offering to stop the rain while I went up to Talung, Tafoor warned me that his efforts might be completely unsuccessful, for he says he can only do it when his mind is completely in accord with that of the person who wishes the rain kept away; otherwise it will rain harder than ever. He is quite unable to do it for his own brother, for instance: whenever Chodu asks him to keep the rain away, and he has tried many times, it rains as though the end of the world is approaching. But he has never yet had a failure when asked by the Mandal or his senior wife. With others it is possible to ease the rain off sufficiently to make work possible, but not to